

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MOGADI 00378 160600Z

11  
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W  
----- 118577

R 141030Z MAR 74 ZDK  
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1709

S E C R E T MOGADISCIO 0378

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ETRA PFOR SO ET

SUBJ: FREDERICKS' VISIT: SOMALI-ETHIOPIA RELATIONS

REF: STATE 048805

1. FREDERICKS INFORMED ME THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVID NEWSOM HAD TOLD HIM THAT AMBASSADOR ADDOU ASKED NEWSOM IN JAN HOW DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA COULD BE GOT GOING AGAIN. NEWSOM HAD SUGGESTED DAVID ROCKEFELLER AS INDIVIDUAL WHO MIGHT HELP AND HAD NAMED FREDERICKS AS BEST CHANNEL FOR APPROACH TO ROCKEFELLER. WHEN ADDOU CONTACTED FREDERICKS, LATTER SAID THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT ROCKEFELLER TO BE GOING TO AFRICA FOR NEXT YEAR OR TWO, BUT THAT FREDERICKS HIMSELF HAD AFRICAN TRIP PLANNED AND WOULD BE GLAD TO INCLUDE SOMALIA. ADDOU THEN ARRANGED FREDERICKS' VISIT AS GUEST OF GSDR.

2. I ASKED FREDERICKS IF ADDOU OR FREDERICKS HIMSELF FELT FREDERICKS WAS ON MISSION FOR USG. I NOTED THAT U.S. POSITION WAS THAT RESOLUTION OF SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN DISPUTE WAS PRIMARILY MATTER FOR THOSE TWO COUNTRIES AND FOR OAU. WE HAD OCCASIONALLY RELAYED CONCERNS OF EACH SIDE TO THE OTHER, BUT DID NOT RPT NOT WISH TO GET "IN THE MIDDLE" IN THE DISPUTE, PARTICULARLY AS WE SUSPECTED SOMALIA EXAGGERATED OUR WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO COMPEL ETHIOPIA TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS. (I LATER MADE MUCH THE SAME POINTS TO AMBASSADOR ADDOU.) FREDERICKS SAID HE WAS ACTING AS PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL AND WOULD MAKE THAT CLEAR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MOGADI 00378 160600Z

IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SOMALI GOVERNMENT.

3. FREDERICKS AND ADDOU SAW SRC MEMBER, NSS HEAD SULEIMAN, AFTERNOON MAR 12. FREDERICKS GAVE ME COMPLETE RUNDOWN ON CONVERSATION AND SAID WOULD ALSO PROVIDE WRITTEN ACCOUNT. ADDOU GAVE ME BRIEFER FILL-IN WHICH QUITE CONSISTENT WITH FREDERICKS' ACCOUNT, WHICH IS ESSENCE AS FOLLOWS:

4. ADDOUT OPENDED BY TELLING SULEIMAN THAT FREDERICKS "TAKING AN INITIATIVE" FOLLOWING DISCUSSION WITH NEWSOM. SULEIMAN THEN GAVE HISTORY OF SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN DISPUTE IN TERMS FAMILIAR TO THE DEPARTMENT, EXPRESSED GSDR'S GREAT DESIRE TO GET TALKS GOING WITH ETHIOPIA, AND SAID THAT ONLY THE U.S. WAS IN A POSITION TO BRING ABOUT SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THESE TWO COUNTRIES. (SULEIMAN RETURNED TO THIS POINT LATER IN CONVERSATION, GIVING FREDERICKS IMPRESSION THAT SULEIMAN FELT KEY U.S. ROLE WOULD BE TO WRING CONCESSIONS FROM ETHIOPIA.) SULEIMAN WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE CORRECTNESS OF SOMALI POSTURE DURING RECENT ETHIOPIAN DISTURBANCES, INCLUDING INSTRUCTIONS THAT NO PROVOCATIVE POLITICAL STATEMENTS WERE TO BE MADE AND THAT SOMALI MILITARY UNITS NEAR ETHIOPIA WERE TO "STAND FAST". SULEIMAN HOPED ETHIOPIA WOULD SEE THIS AS GESTURE FOR PEACE. HE CONCLUDED BY ASKING FREDERICKS TO USE HIS GOOD OFFICES TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT.

5. FREDERICKS SAID HE PRIVATE CITIZEN ON TRIP FOR CHASE MANHATTAN BANK. AFTER TALKING WITH NEWSOM AND ADDOU, HE HAD AGREED TO ADD SOMALIA TO HIS ITINERARY. HE WAS NOT UNDERTAKING ANY "INITIATIVES" AND FOREIGN POLICY WAS NO LONGER HIS BUSINESS. HE THOUGHT SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN DISPUTE WAS MATTER FOR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND A CONCERN OF AFRICA AND THE OAU. HE WAS, OF COURSE, PREPARED TO LISTEN TO WHAT THE GSDR HAD TO SAY AND HE HAD CLOSE, FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIAN PRIME MIN AND OTHERS. HE WONDERED WHETHER THIS WAS OPPORTUNE TIME FOR SOMALIA TO SEEK TO OPEN DIALOGUE WITH ETHIOPIA IN VIEW OF CURRENT ETHIOPIAN PRE-OCCUPATION WITH ITS OWN INTERNAL SITUATION.

6. SULEIMAN AGREED THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BETTER TO WAIT THREE TO FOUR MONTHS BEFORE APPROACHING ETHIOPIANS. GSDR STRONG ENOUGH TO CARRY OUT A COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT EVEN THOUGH PARTS OF IT MIGHT BE UNPOPULAR IN SOMALIA. ALTHOUGH NEW  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MOGADI 00378 160600Z

ETHIOPIAN PRIME MIN AND FONMIN MORE FLEXIBLE THAN PREVIOUS ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, THEIR INTERNAL POSITION NOT RPT NOT AS STRONG AS THAT OF GSDR.

7. FREDERICKS ASKED WHAT HE SHOULD DO. SULEIMAN SAID HE COULD USE INFORMATION THAT SULEIMAN HAD GIVEN HIM WITH WHOMEVER HE CHOSE IN A DISCREET WAY AND THAT FREDERICKS SHOULD TALK AGAIN WITH GSDR IN THREE TO FOUR MONTHS.

8. AS REPORTED MOGADISCIO 0359, ADDOU HAD HOPED FREDERICKS WOULD BE ABLE TO SEE PRESIDENT SIAD EVENING MAR 13. HOWEVER, LATTER WAS TIED UP. HE TOLD ADDOU TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR FREDERICKS' VISIT AND SAY HE HOPED TO SEE FREDERICKS IN THREE TO FOUR MONTHS.

9. COMMENT: I HAVE SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS EXERCISE IN SIGNALLING A CHANGE IN SOMALI POLICY ON ITS DISPUTE WITH ETHIOPIA, EVEN THOUGH SULEIMAN'S POINT ABOUT BEING STRONG ENOUGH TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IS INTERESTING. I STILL FEEL THAT GSDR MAY BE LOOKING ON ROCKEFELLER/FREDERICKS ACTIVITIES AS A WAY TO GET U.S. TO "DELIER" ETHIOPIA. YET SIAD COULD CERTAINLY HAVE FOUND TIME FOR FREDERICKS IF HE REALLY FELT PROSPECTS FOR ACCOMPLISHING THIS FAVORABLE AT PRESENT. I SUSPECT THAT CURRENT ETHIOPIAN SITUATION PLUS FREDERICKS INSISTENCE THAT HE ACTING AS PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL MAY HAVE DAMPENED SIAD'S INTEREST IN USING THIS CHANNEL AT PRESENT TIME. PRESUMABLY DEVELOPMENTS OVER NEXT THREE-FOUR MONTHS WILL TELL WHETHER THERE IS FRUITFUL GROUND FOR PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI DIFFERENCES, WHETHER THROUGH GOOD OFFICES OF FREDERICKS OR SOME OTHER WAY. END COMMENT.

10. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PASS THIS MESSAGE TO EMBASSY ADDIS. KIRK

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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